MESSAGE NO. 1

OF

HIS EXCELLENCY, F. W. PICKENS,

TO

THE LEGISLATURE,

AT THE

EXTRA SESSION OF NOVEMBER, 1861.

COLUMBIA, S. C.:
CHARLES P. PELHAM, STATE PRINTER.

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MESSAGE NO. 1.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives:

You have been called together for the purpose of appointing Electors for President and Vice President of these Confederated States, which has to be done on the first Wednesday in this month.

In addition to this, I desire to call your attention to the present state of our military organization. From the pressing emergency of the war, so many troops have been called into active service that the remainder of our population, fit for military duty, is left in a state of comparative disorganization.

Under the late Act of eighteen hundred and sixty, volunteer regiments were formed out of the old militia battalions, and, in many parts of the State the officers of beat companies, battalions, and regiments, have entered the new volunteer organizations, and have been mustered into Confederate service.

Under this Act of eighteen hundred and sixty, eleven full regiments have been formed for twelve months. The Convention also raised one regiment for six months. Under Confederate authority, a full and most efficient legion has, likewise, been mustered into service. Under special requisition from the President of the Confederate States, two regiments were raised for and during the war. Eleven of these regiments are now in Virginia (one other having served its time and been disbanded), and three on our own sea-coast—in all, fifteen. I have, also, recently mustered into Confederate service, by special requisition from the President, four more full regiments, for and during the war, with four cavalry and two light artillery companies. We have, moreover, a regiment of infantry and a battalion of regular enlisted forces. These will make an aggregate of something more than nineteen thousand men now in actual service. Besides this, I have the troops of the city of Charleston, with a force of more than three thousand effective men, placed on a war footing, and held as a reserve, armed and equipped, ready for any emergency. We have, in addition, twenty-one companies of cavalry and mounted men in the sea-coast Parishes of Charleston, Beaufort, Colleton, and Georgetown, held ready for imme-

diate service. These were first raised under special resolutions of the Convention, and are limited to ten days after the adjournment of the regular session of the Legislature. I suggest that you make the organization more permanent.

I authorized an independent brigade in the eastern Districts, towards the coast, of guerilla formation, furnishing their own arms, and prepared to act in the most efficient manner, and well acquainted with the peculiar conformation of that portion of the country. This was set on foot by an experienced and energetic officer, and will embrace, perhaps, some three thousand men. I recommend it to your early attention, and think it might be confirmed as a legal organization, at least for and during the war. The country is peculiar, and requires a native local force of that kind to give efficiency to its defence, and this is on a plan least expensive to the State. These remarks are also applicable to the twenty-one mounted companies of the sea-coast.

I recommend that there be immediately a new military organization throughout the State, and I suppose that new regimental lines will have to be made in parts of the country. I would urge that all field officers be appointed by the Legislature, or by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate.

The Fourth Brigade of the Second Division might properly remain as it is, as far as Charleston is concerned. Their organization has not been so much deranged by their officers and men volunteering, and being mustered into new and other service.

It is essential that the Legislature shall take this whole matter up as soon as possible, and give efficiency and stability to a general system, calculated to bring all the reserves of the State into immediate organization.

There is great pressure upon our resources at present; but, if possible, I would recommend that the State should raise, arm and equip, two regiments, with four cavalry companies, and two companies of light artillery, exclusively for State purposes. I would suggest that the selection of all officers for the same, at least as high as second lieutenants, inclusive, shall be confined to graduates of our State Military Academy. If these two State regiments are raised, four hundred thousand dollars will be required to arm and sustain them, unless there should be no necessity to call them into active field service.

It is of great importance that our regular enlisted troops shall be reënlisted for the war. They are now only for twelve months, and we cannot dispense with their important services in our coast garrisons. Besides, the experience of their thorough-bred officers is invaluable, and ought to be secured permanently. True, they have been received into Confederate

service, but to reënlist the men will require bounties, and the Confederate Government may not provide for it in time. I therefore recommend that ample provision be made, in advance, for this.

Most of our volunteer regiments, now in Virginia, are only for twelve months, and I suggest that provision be made to secure, if possible, their continuance in service for three years, or for the war. The brave and gallant manner in which they have served the country, together with the experience of their able officers, makes it of the highest importance that you should adopt some system to secure the certain continuance of their services, in advance, before their time expires.

The Confederate Government has imposed a direct tax of fifty cents upon every hundred dollars' worth of certain property, specified in the Act, to be assessed at its "actual marketable value." Those who own such property, amounting to less than five hundred dollars, are exempt from this tax, and this will exempt a large amount in the aggregate. They have, also, allowed each State, if it thinks proper, to pay its own quota, as a State. By so doing, ten per cent. is to be deducted.

I recommend that the State provide for the payment of the same, and that one-half of it be paid by taxes imposed for that purpose, and that the other half be raised by State bonds or stocks, to be issued upon such terms as your wisdom may suggest. By thus dividing the amount, it will enable our citizens to pay the other half, and the bonds will be a relief, under present pressure, to that extent.

I call your attention to this now, because the assessment will have to be made in a short time, and it requires your immediate attention, although, if the State assumes the payment, it is not actually to be made until April.

The Legislature passed some appropriations to meet the exigencies of a war that, at the time, many did not anticipate would be so extensive as it has turned out to be.

I have been able to sustain the State, through a period of great difficulty, and under extraordinary demands for expenditures, such as have never been experienced before, and yet I have not gone, in amount, beyond what was strictly allowed. If we had received back the expenditures we have incurred in the common cause, and which the Confederate Congress provided for by an Act of great liberality, passed expressly for our benefit, I should now be able to present you with a balance.

The cash expenditures, through the Treasury Department, are one million eight hundred and eighty-nine thousand three hundred and seventy-one dollars and seventeen cents ($1,889,371 17). For advances made, I have had accounts and vouchers presented, and the State has been refunded,

from the Confederate Government, six hundred and eighty-six thousand seven hundred and seventy-four dollars ($686,774). This would leave one million two hundred and two thousand five hundred and ninety-seven dollars and seventy-one cents ($1,202,597 71). This does not include that portion of small arms and ordnance which the State had purchased and provided herself with some years since. As yet, we have furnished all the troops that have been raised, and sent out of the State, or in service in the State, with our own arms. I have made no estimate or charge for these arms, furnished for Confederate service. Accounts and vouchers for advances made to the Confederate Government have been presented, but they are not yet audited. I have every reason to believe they will be as soon as the Government shall be relieved from the great pressure as to more immediate and important business.

The Legislature provided, as one of the means to meet the appropriations, the issue of bonds at seven per cent., limited in amount to six hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. Of this only three hundred and seventy-five thousand have been issued. They also authorized bonds to be issued to provide for the sea-coast police, to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. These have not been issued, either. This would leave four hundred and fifty thousand dollars of bonds authorized but not issued. I recommend that this amount be immediately changed into stocks, to be issued and sold in such form as to suit purchasers, and upon such terms as to insure available means as soon as possible. The Bank of the State has acted promptly and patriotically in making advances to the State, and these advances ought to be secured in some tangible form.

I have necessarily directed some expenditures, under the peculiar circumstances, for which there was no express authority by law, but which I trust you will sanction.

After the excessive sufferings of our brave troops in Virginia, I directed, on the eighth of August last, twenty thousand dollars to be deposited in a bank in Richmond, for the relief of the sick and wounded. I also put into the hands of the colonels of the two first regiments I sent to Virginia, two thousand dollars each, for any extra necessities that might be required for their regiments.

I also deposited in the hands of the Quartermaster of General Bonham's staff five thousand dollars, for immediate wants. I was called on, under sudden and extraordinary circumstances, to send troops to Virginia, and, as there was then no general organization of any kind, I thought it right that those whom I sent out of the State should not suffer for anything. I also sent on twenty thousand dollars to pay our first regiment of volunteers, in Richmond. In all these matters, I trust to receive your direct sanction.

I refer you to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, which will give you all details in full, and in such a lucid form as may be easily understood.

I take this occasion to recommend that you abolish the Treasuries of the Upper and Lower Divisions, making one Treasury and one office. This will simplify all State accounts very much, and enable you to give system to the whole. No local interests ought to be consulted in such an organization of our Treasury. This will require the action of two successive Legislatures.

I also urgently recommend that there shall be a change in your system of taxation. The artificial value given to lands below or above a certain line run through the State, originated in a condition of things, at the period of eighteen hundred and eight, which no longer exists. There ought to be a true and just valuation of land made, no matter where it may be located. The tax on what is denominated town property is liable to objection, and should be modified. The true system is, to raise as little as possible from active productive labor, and impose taxes upon accumulated capital and evidences of luxury.

In this State, the system has been, to raise far the larger portion from productive labor. If this were changed, and a wise system adopted, one-third more could be raised, and really be felt less. It would greatly increase the resources of the State, and at this period, when all taxes will be felt deeply, you cannot too soon devote your serious attention to this subject.

From the 20th of December last until the 9th of February, this State acted alone. She was entirely separate and independent. During this period we incurred heavy expenditures. In taking Castle Pinckney, Fort Moultrie, and the late United States Arsenal, we acquired large supplies of heavy ordinance, arms, and munitions of war. As we took the responsibility of acting alone, and of risking all, we were fairly entitled to all we acquired. For the heavy expenditures we thus incurred, up to the 8th of February, I have, as yet, presented no claim or account against the Confederate Government. Our Convention transferred, by ordinance, all these public works and forts, with their armament, and so forth, to the common Government. By every principle of public law, we are entitled to the expenses incurred during that period, and I doubt not but, when presented, the claim will be recognized.

Circumstances placed us in the van in this march to independence. We claim no exclusive merit, but, under severe censure, and the most trying circumstances, we only endeavored to do our duty, faithfully and bravely. Events have since vindicated the wisdom and patriotism of our course, and I confidently appeal to the future, with the proud consciousness that posterity will exultingly point to every page of history, as tablets on whose

marble surface shall be engraved the record of our honor unstained, and of our integrity without a blemish.

Soon after the 8th of February, the Confederate Provisional Government was formed, and, by the authority of our Convention, we yielded our separate and independent action, and assumed the obligations of the Confederate compact.

The regular constitutional Government, under that compact, is now to be inaugurated on the twenty-second day of February, and I respectfully recommend that you give it your loyal and faithful support, by all the constitutional means at your command.

The sea-coast police has been the cause of much interest and exertion in the first of the year, and I refer you to the report of the Secretary of the Interior for all the details in relation to its administration in the last few months. This will show the activity and care that has been exercised in that department. I submit that the funds deposited to the credit of that department be now appropriated to any branch of the public service you may deem proper. The jurisdiction now assumed by the Confederate Government may relieve us, before long, from any further duties in relation to that branch of public service, although we must, of course, be ready to aid and assist, by all means in our power, any efforts on the part of our common Government to protect our coast.

The Legislature authorized the issue of bonds, to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, for this special purpose. I did not use these bonds at all, except to hypothecate them with the President of the Bank of the State, as collateral, on account of advances made by the Bank I in like manner used the power given me to direct the Bank to issue receivable paper, not to exceed two hundred thousand dollars.

The report of the Adjutant and Inspector General will give you accurate information of all matters pertaining to the military. This office has been one of great labor, requiring a high degree of bureau talent and information, at this peculiar juncture in our affairs. I think, in every respect, what he has done will be satisfactory.

The College has been seriously interrupted by the condition of affairs in the country, and the young men, who were full of patriotism and zeal, could not be restrained from entering into active service. It is now, however, in full operation, with a very respectable number of students. I fondly hope that no circumstances will be allowed to interfere permanently with the exercises of this noble institution. I believe it is the only institution of the kind entirely endowed by the State, and managed by public authority, in the confederated States. There are, apparently, many objections to the peculiar organization of such an institution; but when we look to the practical results, and the large public benefit it confers, we must be

constrained to yield all such objections. Through a public institution, controlled by the Government, we are enabled to educate our young men with high feelings of public devotion to the country, and bind them with stronger and more exclusive ties of first allegiance to the State. It is this institution which, by dispensing education equally through the commonwealth, has done more to make us a united and a loyal people, than any other single cause. Any State, with common judgment, can develope the wealth and physical resources of a people, but it is not every State that can produce an heroic and intellectual race of men. Public schools and literary institutions, nobly and generously endowed, where virtue, truth and patriotism are taught as the cardinal doctrines of life—without which life itself is not worth preserving—can alone produce a manly race and brave men as indigenous to the soil. A large State, with vast resources, may present to the world a teeming population, but this does not constitute a great State. A cultivated and intellectual people, whose public institutions train them to think boldly and freely, and who have the heroic daring to do their duty faithfully to themselves and the world, furnish all those qualities which command the admiration and respect of mankind. We should, therefore, spend freely on anything calculated to elevate the moral and intellectual culture of our people.

The Military Academy has, at this important period, furnished us young men of thorough military education and training, who have been of good service. The Cadets of the Citadel Academy, in Charleston, under immediate command of the scientific officer then at the head of that institution, were the first corps I directed to occupy a new battery on the channel, with positive orders to open the fire. At this battery they nobly did their duty, in conjunction with the Vigilant Rifles, German Riflemen, and Zouave Cadets. On the 9th day of January last, they drew the lanyard of the very first cannon that was ever fired into a vessel bearing the flag of the old Union, and triumphantly drove her back, filled, as she was, with armed men to invade our soil, and sailing under special orders from the Lieutenant-General of the United States, marked by attendant circumstances of treachery and duplicity. It was this cannon which opened upon the "Star of the West," that called a half-million of freemen to arms in this our second war of independence.

In several points of view, these Military Academies have fully vindicated the wisdom of those who founded them, and I now recommend that they be united into one institution, and that the appropriation be increased, so as to enlarge its usefulness.

When the institution is united, it should be located at the most suitable place. I would suggest that, perhaps, the most appropriate place for it would be Sullivan's Island. With this view, I would recommend that the

State procure the retrocession of Fort Moultrie for the purpose of connecting it with the academy, to be used as a post for drill and exercise in heavy artillery and practical gunnery.

Since Fort Sumter has been put in complete order, with all the guns for the first time mounted, it entirely commands, not only the harbor of Charleston and its entrance, but Fort Moultrie, and therefore the possession of this latter fortress is not at all essential to the Confederate Government.

With the State Military Academy located on Sullivan's Island, Fort Moultrie could be kept in repair and thorough order by the cadets, and thus save an annual expense to the Confederate Government, and besides, it would add much to the practical knowledge of the cadets. No expense should deter us from placing this academy on the highest footing.

We ought to enlarge its usefulness, by admitting cadets from other States, except, of course, those who may be beneficiaries. By enlarging the capacity of this institution, we not only secure that science and training so essential in all modern warfare, but so absolutely necessary to give a small State the capacity to defend itself from the strong and powerful. In the present situation of our country, the State that gives her people the highest military education will be most deeply felt in all the struggles that must inevitably arise in the future.

I trust the Institution for the education of the Deaf and Dumb will continue to receive your bounty and care. The Lunatic Asylum, I hope, will ever remain a noble monument of your constant and munificent benevolence.

The issue of the six per cent. bonds, authorized to carry on the State House, was limited to their being sold at not less than ninety-five cents in the dollar. As the sale could not be effected at this rate, I gave notice to the superintendent to suspend all further work. He represented that some work was essential to preserve the fine quarry from injury by freshets, and it was done. Some work on the finer marble has also been continued—on an arrangement made by the superintendent with the Bank, and at the risk, I believe, of the contractors themselves. All other work has been suspended. It is a building fashioned on a very superior model, and will compare favorably, as to style, with almost any work, and the material is all of the best kind. Although it has been commenced on a scale much beyond our limited means, yet everything ought to be immediately provided to preserve it from the weather at present. I suggest that it ought to be permanently covered, and this can be done now at a cost of about one hundred and thirty thousand dollars. The contractors would take the bonds ordered to be issued at six per cent., even if below the ninety-five cents, and receive them in payment. If so, it might be directed to the amount necessary to cover the building, provided the contract for the same should not be increased in amount to meet any depressed value of the bonds.

In eighteen hundred and fifty-four, seventeen thousand five hundred and fourteen dollars and ninety-five cents were received from the United States Government, as due South Carolina on account of distribution from sale of public lands. I recommend that it be passed to the credit of the Treasury, and appropriated. There are also one thousand six hundred and fifty dollars, balance from an appropriation to the widows and orphans of the Palmetto Regiment. This should be immediately passed to the credit of the Treasury.

There are many of our citizens, and some of them of large fortunes, now residing out of the State. At this period, when the services, in some form, of every son of South Carolina may be absolutely necessary, I submit to you the propriety of calling them home, and it is for your wisdom to annex the conditions you may think proper to such a call.

It is a source of great satisfaction to me to draw your attention to the fact that all classes of our people, without exception, have been loyal and devoted to the State in this her day of trial, and amongst them I would particularly say that the free people of color have done their duty, also. At an important time last spring, when the whole of our population were intensely excited, from Columbia, and Charleston, and elsewhere, they formally offered their services to me, to act in any capacity in which they might serve their State. They were, in many instances, employed. I trust the day is far distant when this State will refuse to extend her guardian protection to this unfortunate and helpless class of our people.

There is a remnant of the Catawba Indians in our State, and I feel assured that they will receive your usual care and attention.

Many benevolent and kind citizens of our State have, with great energy and devotion to the sick and wounded of our soldiers in Virginia, established hospitals in their own way, which have been a great relief to our suffering men in a distant country. I recommend that every aid and facility, consistent with the public means, may be extended to them in their patriotic and Christian exertions. I have transmitted, through the Aid Society in Charleston, four thousand dollars to the St. Charles Hospital in Richmond, and trust it will meet your sanction. Whether anything like a State Hospital should be established there, as permanent, is for your judgment to decide. I doubt the propriety of systematically interfering with the regular provision made for all such things by the common Government, and under strict army regulations. But in extraordinary vicissitudes of sickness, or after great battles, these establishments might be, as they have been, of incalculable service.

In addition to the difficulties that war always brings upon a country, we labor at this time under stringent pressure, from the sale of all productions for exportation being suspended. Our banks are banks both of discount and circulation, and practically, they hold the only circulating medium.

They suspended the redemption of their bills issued. The Legislature legalized that suspension. Then, if their issues are contracted, and circulation withdrawn, the difficulty of paying debts and meeting taxation becomes greatly increased. It would seem that under such circumstances, where the Legislature have interposed to relieve the banks from the obligation to pay their notes, some course ought to be adopted, if consistent with safe precedent, to protect the people also from the temporary difficulties by which we are surrounded. All tampering, of any kind, with produce by Government, in any shape or form, is generally unwise and unjust. If anything of the kind is ever to be done, let it be done by the State Governments, rather than by the General or Confederate Government, for all power, not expressly granted, is reserved to the States. The exercise, by the Confederate Government, of any power not expressly granted, is not only without authority, but, on so vital a point, it is dangerous, as calculated, if habitually acted upon, to affect deeply the distribution of wealth, and the interests of productive labor. If anything is done, it should be done by the States, and I suggest that, perhaps, as we have a State institution, it might be used to advance on produce one-half of its value, upon receipts for the same being deposited, with a view to give a lien, to secure the amount advanced first, to the exclusion of all other claims. Public policy will require that you should continue to legalize the suspension of the banks. This continuation might be made upon certain conditions resting upon similar advances to be made from all the banks.

As our soldiers are nobly serving their country, and at a great distance from home, some stay of execution or levy upon their property should be directed by law. Everything of this kind must be done with great caution, so as not to be made a precedent. There is no power so dangerous, and generally so unjust, as for any Government to interfere, in the slightest degree, with contracts, and if ever done, it ought to be limited to absolute necessity. Integrity, faith, and stern justice are qualities more essential in Governments than even amongst individuals, because of their wide-spread influence.

On the 17th of December, the day after I was inaugurated, I sent a confidential agent to the President of the United States, demanding possession of Fort Sumter, upon conditions somewhat the same as those upon which I understood the United States Arsenal had been previously allowed to be placed under a State guard. One of my objects was, to ascertain, in the most authentic manner, the real intention of the President in relation to the occupation of the forts in our harbor, and to shape my own course accordingly. A copy of this letter, with accompanying explanations of the agent, I sent to Washington, together with a communication from a distinguished citizen, appointed, as I have since been informed, by my predeces-

sor, to remain at Washington, as confidential representative of the State, are herewith transmitted, for your information of all details. The day on which my letter was presented to the President, I was telegraphed by high and responsible representatives from this State, to withdraw it, on account of an understanding, that had been recognized, that there should be no interference with the status of the forts in any way, until Commissioners from this State should be appointed to proceed to Washington, and represent the State fully on all points at issue, connected with the forts and public property.

On the 18th of December I went to Charleston, and immediately ordered a very responsible officer, with a detachment, to arm and equip a guard boat, with specific orders to prevent, if possible, any movement of troops from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, and if such a thing was attempted, to forbid it, and, if persevered in, to resist it by force, and then immediately to take Fort Sumter at all hazards. At that time there was but a small guard in this fortress, and it was in no condition for defence.

On the 20th of December, the President of the United States sent General Cushing, a distinguished citizen of Massachusetts, to me, with a letter, a copy of which is herewith transmitted. I had but a short interview with him, and told him I would return no reply to the President's letter, except to say, very candidly, that there was no hope for the Union, and that, as far as I was concerned, I intended to maintain the separate independence of South Carolina, and from this purpose, neither temptation nor danger should, for a moment, deter me. He said that he could not say what changes circumstances might produce, but when he left Washington, there was then no intention whatever to change the status of the forts in our harbor in any way.

Notwithstanding the distinct pledge of honorable faith, made previous to this, and then this renewal of it, the commandant of Fort Moultrie, on the night of the 26th of December, moved all his forces from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, with his munitions of war, after first spiking the guns, cutting down the flag-staff, and burning the gun-carriages.

This fortress was the well known key to the harbor, and the move was intended to hold us in subjugation, and enable the garrison to be reinforced, with a view to hold the post permanently. This move was a violation of all manly faith, and could be looked upon in no other light than an open act of hostility. They still possessed Castle Pinckney, with guns bearing directly upon the city. This is a fortress originally intended to protect the inner harbor.

I immediately, on the morning after they had moved from Fort Moultrie, ordered select forces to take Castle Pinckney, at all hazards, and gave a similar order to occupy Sullivan's Island, and to proceed cautiously, after

examination as to mines, and take Fort Moultrie. These orders were executed the same day.

I had, on the evening of the 20th of December, requested the Commissioner sent to our Convention from Alabama, to give the Governor of that State official notice that I intended to take the forts, if there was any attempt to change their status, and to request that he would act in like manner as to the forts in Mobile harbor. I made the same communication to the Commissioner from Mississippi, as to my intention, and I would have done the same to the representatives of any other sister State, if they had been here.

After I occupied these forts, I consulted engineers, and immediately commenced the batteries on the channel, to endeavor to prevent supplies or reinforcements, and also ordered a detachment to take possession of Fort Johnson, and prevent all communication from the garrison in Fort Sumter. Copies of the general orders, connected with all these movements, I herewith transmit for your information, with other papers, which will give the reasons by which I was influenced at the time.

On the 9th day of January, I ordered a plan to be agreed upon by our engineers, and reported to me, for the most certain and scientific mode of reducing the fortress, and upon that plan the batteries were erected which finally did reduce it. Copies of this plan, and the orders, are also transmitted.

I had issued orders to prevent, if possible, all reinforcements or supplies, and, if necessary, to fire on any vessel that might attempt to enter the harbor. On the 9th of January, a large vessel, bearing two hundred and fifty United States troops, with arms and supplies of all sorts, was fired into and driven back. A few days before this, a telegram from a member of the Cabinet at Washington was shown to me, asserting that no such vessel would be sent, and a great effort was made to induce me to suspend the order to fire. Major Anderson demanded a disavowal of the act, accompanied with a positive threat, that, if not disavowed by me, he would open fire upon any vessel with our flag in the harbor. I avowed the act: he retracted his threat, and asked time to consult his Government. After his suggestion on that point, I sent to Washington our highest law officer in the State, a gentleman of eminent standing and worth, in order to act in the fairest and most liberal spirit. This correspondence has all been published, and shows the imbecility and duplicity by which our opponents conducted the issues then presented.

After President Lincoln was inaugurated, he sent, in the latter part of March, a confidential agent, Mr. Fox, who was introduced by a gallant officer of our navy. He said he desired to visit Fort Sumter, and that his objects were "entirely pacific." Upon the guarantee of the officer intro-

ducing him, Captain Hartstene, he was permitted to visit Major Anderson in company with Captain Hartstene, expressly upon the pledge of "pacific purposes." Notwithstanding this, he actually reported a plan for the reinforcement of the garrison by force, which was adopted. Major Anderson protested against it. I enclose with this a copy of papers, to be used under your wise discretion, which will place these facts beyond controversy.

In a very few days after, another confidential agent, Colonel Lamon, was sent by the President, who informed me that he had come to try and arrange for the removal of the garrison, and, when he returned from the fort, asked if a war vessel could not be allowed to remove them. I replied, that no war vessel could be allowed to enter the harbor on any terms. He said he believed Major Anderson preferred an ordinary steamer, and I agreed that the garrison might be thus removed. He said he hoped to return in a very few days for that purpose. Then, on the 8th of April, Mr. Chew, an official in the State Department, was sent, in company with Lieutenant Talbot, and read to me a paper, which the President of the United States, he said, had directed him to read to me, in relation to sending in supplies to the fort. He gave me no information as to anything, but only read the paper, and said he was not even directed to ask my reply. I sent for General Beauregard, as the commanding General on the part of the Confederate Government, and had the paper again read in his presence. A copy of this paper is herewith transmitted. It bears upon its face an utter want of manliness and straight-forward conduct. I give this minute statement of facts, because they are deeply important to a thorough understanding of the true origin of this fierce and malignant war, which practically commenced in the capture of Fort Sumter, on the 13th of April last. Its effects will be deeply felt throughout the world, and it is due to our sister States that they shall know the part which we were forced to act in its origin.

Every step in the commencement of this terrible conflict has been marked by deception and duplicity on the part of our enemies. By so doing, they have inaugurated events well calculated to produce not only a profound impression upon our own country, but upon the destiny of American civilization; and we have every reason to be deeply grateful, as a Christian people, to a superintending Providence, for the direction given, thus far, to these events. The whole rise and growth of these States of North America, has been the most rapid and gigantic ever before exhibited amongst the nations of the earth. Under institutions the most popular and captivating to the enthusiastic mind, we had made such developement of strength and power, in little more than three-quarters of century, as seemed to overshadow most modern governments.

In theory, the distribution of all power appeared to rest upon principles of equality and justice; and if the Government had been honestly and wisely administered, it was the noblest system ever created for rational men. But man was, as he ever has been, selfish and ambitious, and, under the guide of those passions, the whole system became thoroughly perverted from its original designs.

It was a Confederated Republic, with powers expressly granted by States, and defined under a limited compact or constitution, and never was, in any sense, a simple democracy, with a majority of people to govern. It was this profound fallacy as to a democracy, originated by designing demagogues or superficial thinkers, which, within the last thirty years, radically changed the whole nature of the Government.

In the Northern States, they had no division of classes or castes that were openly acknowledged as the fundamental law of society, and, as a natural consequence, the only division was between capitalists and laborers. The former, to act more efficiently in the struggle for ascendency, became organized under the style and title of corporations, in every shape and form, from the smallest to the highest matters. This was done in order to give associated wealth more and more absolute power over labor. This was their political slavery. After they had thus mastered the labor of the North, they engaged in a struggle to master the Federal Government, and, through it, to make the labor of the South also tributary to their power and wealth. To bring their numbers to bear in a consolidated democracy, was essential to their designs. They then called in that fanatical element of their ignorant classes, through which the designing and the wary could make them subservient to their ultimate designs.

In the South, it was the reverse of this. There were ranks and there were castes acknowledged in the fundamental law of our society, and this was the division between master and slave.

The white race was a privileged race of rank and political power. It was not a division between capitalists and laborers, for here capitalists owned laborers, and were, therefore, interested in the profits of daily labor. In fact, they were themselves, to all intents and purposes, laborers as well as capitalists. Hence it was, we wanted no increase in the power of government over productive labor, nor did we need associated wealth, in the form of corporations, to subjugate the labor of the country, for we had, as individuals, all that power already.

Under such fundamental differences as these, the preservation of separate States in the form of a Republic, with a limited compact, was the very law of our existence, and the perversion to a simple democracy of mere numbers, was our political death. The most corrupt of all governments, if extensive enough to embrace different interests, is a simple democracy of

numbers. It necessarily soon runs into practical anarchy, and thence into a military despotism, as protection from the horrors of anarchy. Now that the Northern States are forced to organize to themselves, this career, to them, is as certain as destiny itself, and is inherent in their very organization.

Under these circumstances, if we fail to grow wise from the lessons of experience, and allow any considerations to weaken the federative action of our system, and increase the tendency to a simple democracy of numbers, we, too, will soon sink into the same ruin, where an unrestrained military government will raise its strong and mighty structure, beneath whose shadow the very boundaries of the States will be lost and forgotten amid the scattered fragments of a broken and dismembered empire.

There is not the slightest danger of our being subjugated by the North. Those who conceived such an idea had but little knowledge as to the elements of real power. They are vastly defective in all those qualities necessary for effective military organization, particularly for purposes of invasion, while the institutions of the South train our people to individual self-reliance, and to police regulations with disciplined order. There are no agricultural people so essentially military in their early training as are the slave-holding race of the South.

Wherever slaves exist, with the distinctive marks of a separate race, it is a privilege and rank to be free. Under these circumstances, you may exterminate the dominant race, but you can never permanently subjugate it. When the lower strata of society is occupied by an inferior race, who make no pretension to political equality or power, the entire ruling race can be brought into active service for all purposes of defence, without drawing materially from the productive field labor necessary to afford support.

Although we have actually called into military service the largest force, in proportion to our population, known in modern times, yet the provision crops of all kinds, in these Confederate States, never were equalled by what has this year been garnered for our use. The reverse of this is the case in all States where there is no fundamental division of classes. Where all are theoretically equal, those who follow the lower pursuits of society must be conciliated, and when they are pressed into large armies, they not only create a heavy expense to be supplied by capitalists, but they also leave a vacuum in productive labor that deranges the internal relations between capital and labor, and this is more deeply felt than even the direct expenses for their support.

With us, to a great extent, every freeman's home is but a privileged castle, with armed men ready to go forth to the field for defence and for honor, while laborers on the soil remain, to gather and garner up the produce of the earth.

True, war is a great calamity, but if this war shall end, as there is every prospect that it will do, by making us not only politically independent of our most deadly enemies, but commercially independent also, and, at the same time, shall develope our own artisan skill and mechanical labor, so as to place us entirely beyond their subsidy hereafter, then, indeed, will it prove, in the end, a public blessing.

We will be left free to develope our own civilization, and show, where there is an inferior caste in society, and the higher and privileged race governs, that a constitutional republic of States may be established upon conservative principles identified with all the great ends of truth, justice and stability. But if we fail in this, then there is no hope for a government of States. The only advance, in substance, which we have made over the government of our English ancestors, was the substitution of the municipal government of States, representing permanent local interests and territory, instead of great landed proprietors and hereditary rulers. This government of States was destroyed by the Northern people, who, without the conservative division of castes, which we have, endeavored to make the government a simple democracy of numbers. This ended, as all such governments must inevitably end, in corruption, usurpation and revolution. As far as the Northern States are concerned, their Government is hopelessly gone, and if we fail, with all our conservative elements to save us, then, indeed, there will be no hope for an independent and free republic on this continent, and the public mind will despondingly turn to the stronger and more fixed forms of the old world.

In this point of view, I most respectfully urge that you increase the power and dignity of the State, through all her administrative offices, and adhere firmly to all the conservative principles of our Constitution.

Clouds and darkness may rest upon our beloved country, but if we are true to ourselves, and just to others, looking with confiding faith up to that Providence who presides over the destinies of men and of governments, we will surely triumph, and come out of our trials a wiser and a better people.

F. W. PICKENS.